## The Bantu Languages

Second Edition

Edited by Mark Van de Velde, Koen Bostoen, Derek Nurse and Gérard Philippson

ROUTLEDGE LANGUAGE FAMILY SERIES



### THE BANTU

#### LANGUAGES

Written by an international team of experts, this comprehensive volume presents grammatical analyses of individual Bantu languages, comparative studies of their main phonetic, phonological and grammatical characteristics and overview chapters on their history and classification.

It is estimated that some 300 to 350 million people, or one in three Africans, are Bantu speakers. Van de Velde and Bostoen bring together their linguistic expertise to produce a volume that builds on Nurse and Philippson's first edition.

The Bantu Languages, 2nd edition is divided into two parts; Part 1 contains 11 comparative chapters, and Part 2 provides grammar sketches of 12 individual Bantu languages, some of which were previously undescribed. The grammar sketches follow a general template that allows for easy comparison.

Thoroughly revised and updated to include more language descriptions and the latest comparative insights.

New to this edition:

- new chapters on syntax, tone, reconstruction and language contact
- 12 new sketch grammars
- thoroughly updated chapters on phonetics, aspect-tense-mood and classification
- exhaustive catalogue of known languages with essential references

This unique resource remains the ideal reference for advanced undergraduate and postgraduate students of Bantu linguistics and languages. It will be of interest to researchers and anyone with an interest in historical linguistics, linguistic typology and grammatical analysis.

Mark Van de Velde is a researcher at LLACAN (CNRS-INaLCO) in Paris, of which he has been the director since 2015. He works on the grammatical analysis and documentation of the north-western Bantu languages and the languages of the Benue valley in Nigeria, especially those currently classified as Adamawa. He is also interested in linguistic typology and in the comparative study and reconstruction of Bantu grammar, particularly in the domain of the noun phrase.

Koen Bostoen is Professor of African Linguistics and Swahili at Ghent University and member of the UGent Centre for Bantu Studies. His research focuses on Bantu languages and interdisciplinary approaches to the African past. He obtained an ERC Starting Grant for the KongoKing project (2012–2016) and an ERC Consolidator's Grant for the BantuFirst project (2018–2022). Apart from several research articles, he is the author of Des mots et des pots en bantou: une approche linguistique de l'histoire de la céramique en Afrique (2005) and co-editor of Studies in African Comparative Linguistics, with Special Focus on Bantu and Mande (2005), The Kongo Kingdom: The Origins, Dynamics and Cosmopolitan Culture of an African Polity (2018) and Une archéologie des provinces septentrionales du royaume Kongo (2018).

**Derek Nurse** edited the first edition of *The Bantu Languages* and has worked on historical linguistics, language contact, phonological change, Bantu and (East) African languages, Swahili, ethnolinguistics, the interface of linguistics, archaeology, and history and tense/aspect systems in Bantu.

**Gérard Philippson** edited the first edition of *The Bantu Languages* and is emeritus Professor of Bantu Languages at the Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (Paris) and member of the Laboratoire Dynamique du Language (Lyon). He has worked mostly on East African Bantu Languages, Bantu comparative tonology and diachronic phonology, as well as culture history.

#### ROUTLEDGE LANGUAGE FAMILY SERIES

Each volume in this series contains an in-depth account of the members of some of the world's most important language families. Written by experts in each language, these accessible accounts provide detailed linguistic analysis and description. The contents are carefully structured to cover the natural system of classification: phonology, morphology, syntax, lexis, semantics, dialectology, and sociolinguistics.

Every volume contains extensive bibliographies for each language, a detailed index and tables, and maps and examples from the languages to demonstrate the linguistic features being described. The consistent format allows comparative study, not only between the languages in each volume, but also across all the volumes in the series.

The Romance Languages

Edited by Martin Harris & Nigel Vincent

The Slavonic Languages

Edited by Bernard Comrie &

Greville G. Corbett

The Germanic Languages
Edited by Ekkehard Konig & Johan van
der Auwera

The Uralic Languages

Edited by Daniel Abondolo

The Turkic Languages Edited by Éva Csató & Lars Johanson

The Indo-Aryan Languages

Edited by George Cardona &

Dhanesh K. Jain

The Austronesian Languages of Asia and Madagascar Edited by Nikolaus Himmelmann & Sander Adelaar

> The Tai-Kadai Languages Edited by Anthony Diller

The Iranian Languages Edited by Gernot Windfuhr

The Khoesan Languages Edited by Rainer Vossen

The Munda Languages

Edited by Gregory D.S. Anderson

The Celtic Languages, 2nd Edition Edited by Martin J. Ball & Nicole Müller

The Sino-Tibetan Languages, 2nd Edition Edited by Graham Thurgood & Randy J. Lapolla

The Indo-European Languages, 2nd Edition Edited by Mate Kapović

The Mayan Languages
Edited by Judith L. Aissen,
Nora C. England, and Roberto Zavala
Maldonado

The Languages of Japan and Korea Edited by Nicolas Tranter

> The Mongolic Languages Edited by Juha Janhunan

The Oceanic Languages

Edited by John Lynch, Malcolm Ross &
Terry Crowley

Language Isolates Edited by Lyle Campbell

The Bantu Languages, 2nd Edition Edited by Mark Van de Velde, Koen Bostoen, Derek Nurse, and Gérard Philippson

The Semitic Languages, 2nd Edition Edited by John Huehnergard and Na ama Pat-El

Other titles in the series can be found at www.routledge.com/languages/series/SE0091

# THE BANTU LANGUAGES

Second edition

Edited by Mark Van de Velde, Koen Bostoen, Derek Nurse, and Gérard Philippson

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

Second edition published 2019

by Routledge

2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN

and by Routledge

52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2019 selection and editorial matter, Mark Van de Velde, Koen Bostoen, Derek Nurse and Gérard Philippson; individual chapters, the contributors

The right of the Mark Van de Velde, Koen Bostoen, Derek Nurse and Gérard Philippson to be identified as the authors of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

First edition published by Routledge 2004

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Velde, Mark L. O. van de, 1976– editor, author. | Bostoen, Koen A. G., editor, author. | Nurse, Derek, editor, author. | Philippson, Gérard, editor, author.

Title: The Bantu languages / edited by Mark Van de Velde, Koen Bostoen, Derek Nurse, and Gérard Philippson.

Other titles: Routledge language family series.

Description: Second edition. | New York : Routledge, 2018. | Series: Routledge language family series | Includes index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2018029329 | ISBN 9781138799677 (hardback : alk. paper) | ISBN 9781315755946 (ebook) | ISBN 9781317628675 (mobi)

Subjects: LCSH: Bantu languages.

Classification: LCC PL8025 .B35 2018 | DDC 496.39—dc23

LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2018029329

ISBN: 978-1-138-79967-7 (hbk) ISBN: 978-1-315-75594-6 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman

by Apex CoVantage, LLC

Visit the eResources: www.routledge.com/9781138799677

PL 8025 .B35 2019

#### CONTENTS

List of contributors List of abbreviations		ix xiv
1 Introduction Ko	en Bostoen and Mark Van de Velde	1
PART 1		
2 An inventory of B	Santu languages Harald Hammarström	17
3 The sounds of the	Bantu languages Ian Maddieson and Bonny Sands	79
4 Segmental phonol	logy Larry Hyman	128
5 Tone Michael R.	Marlo and David Odden	150
6 Word formation	Thilo C. Schadeberg and Koen Bostoen	172
7 Aspect, tense and	mood Derek Nurse and Maud Devos	204
8 Nominal morphol	logy and syntax Mark Van de Velde	237
9 Clausal morphosy Laura J. Downing	yntax and information structure and Lutz Marten	270
10 Reconstructing P	roto-Bantu Koen Bostoen	308
11 Classifying Bantu and Rebecca Grol		335
12 Language contac	t Maarten Mous	355
PART 2		
13 Kwakum A91 E	Elisabeth Njantcho Kouagang and Mark Van de Velde	383
14 Nsong B85d Jos	seph Koni Muluwa and Koen Bostoen	414
15 Pagibete C401	JeDene Reeder	449
16 Zimba D26 Con	nstance Kutsch Lojenga	472
17 The Mara langua Tim Roth, Oliver S	The Mara languages JE40 Lotta Aunio, Holly Robinson, Tim Roth, Oliver Stegen and John B. Walker	
18 Mbugwe F34 V	era Wilhelmsen	533
10 Kami C36 Mal	in Petzell and Lotta Aunio	563

#### viii CONTENTS

20 Ngazidja G44a Cédric Patin, Kassim and Charles Kisseberth	Mohamed-Soyir 591
21 Vwanji G66 Helen Eaton	615
22 Totela K41 Thera Crane	645
23 Chimpoto N14 Robert Botne	692
24 Cuwabo P34 Rozenn Guérois	733
Language index Subject index	776 782

#### CONTRIBUTORS

Lotta Aunio, PhD, is Senior Lecturer of Bantu Languages at the Department of World Cultures, University of Helsinki. Her research interests include Bantu languages, Nilotic languages, tone, language contact and language description.

Koen Bostoen is Professor of African Linguistics and Swahili at Ghent University and member of the UGent Centre for Bantu Studies. His research focuses on Bantu languages and interdisciplinary approaches to the African past. He obtained an ERC Starting Grant for the KongoKing project (2012–2016) and an ERC Consolidator's Grant for the BantuFirst project (2018–2022). Apart from several research articles, he is the author of *Des mots et des pots en bantou: une approche linguistique de l'histoire de la céramique en Afrique* (2005, Peter Lang) and co-editor of *Studies in African Comparative Linguistics, with Special Focus on Bantu and Mande* (2005, RMCA), *The Kongo Kingdom: The Origins, Dynamics and Cosmopolitan Culture of an African Polity* (2018, Cambridge University Press) and *Une archéologie des provinces septentrionales du royaume Kongo* (2018, Archaeopress).

**Robert Botne** is Professor of Linguistics at Indiana University. He is a general linguist whose research focuses primarily on the Bantu languages and on the morphology and typology of tense, aspect, mood systems.

**Thera Crane** is a researcher in the Department of Languages at the University of Helsinki. She is currently investigating morphosemantic variation in South African Ndebele varieties as part of the project "Stability and Change in Language Contact: The Case of Southern Ndebele (South Africa)."

Maud Devos is a researcher at the Royal Museum of Central Africa and a Visiting Professor of Swahili at Ghent University. Her main research interest lies in descriptive linguistics, focusing on coastal Mozambican Bantu languages that were once part of the larger Swahili world. She also investigates grammaticalisation processes in Bantu languages, mainly pertaining to the expression of negation (negative stacking, prohibition, negative existence and not yet), mood and modality, focus and location.

Laura J. Downing has been Professor of African Languages at the University of Gothenburg since 2012. Her research since her dissertation has focused mainly on the prosody of Bantu languages, including topics like tone, reduplication, the syntax-phonology interface and information structure. She has numerous scholarly publications to her credit on these topics, including, most recently, a book on *The Phonology of Chichewa* (co-authored with Al Mtenje) and an edited volume on *Tone and Intonation in African Languages* (co-edited with Annie Rialland).

#### LANGUAGE INDEX

Only languages referred to in chapters other than Chapter 2 ("An inventory of Bantu languages") are indexed here.

Abo A42 20, 156 Adamawa-Ubangi 4 Afrikaans 356, 359–360, 362, 369 Afro-Asiatic 4, 94 Aghem (Grassfields Bantu) 87, 153, 260, 275 Alagwa (Cushitic) 373, 533 Amba (Humu) D22 31, 355 Arabic 308, 356, 358, 362, 365, 367–368, 370–373, 573, 591–692, 603, 612 Atlantic 255, 324

Babole C101 26, 242, 263, 265 Baca A621 21, 81 Bafia/Kpa A53 21, 131, 151, 345 Bajuni G41 36, 214 Baka (Ubangi) 383 Bantoid 3, 4, 8, 9, 87, 89, 255, 323, 325, 336, 344-346, 355 Basaa A43 20, 115, 130, 140, 143, 186, 211, 248, 251, 262 Bekwel A85b 22, 94 Bemba M42 44, 81, 89, 115-116, 135, 139, 141, 144-145, 155, 187, 217, 224, 249, 253-255, 262-263, 277, 285, 288, 294, 358, 683 Bembe H11 37, 134, 312, 335 Bena G63 36, 152, 226, 615, 629 Benue-Congo 4, 83, 239, 312, 315, 323, 335-336, 355 Benue-Cross River 335 Benue-Kwa 335 Bhele D31 31, 355 Bila D311 31, 151, 355 Binza C321 28, 257, 264 Bira D32 9, 239, 355 Bobangi C32 28, 132 Bobe A31 20, 339, 341, 347 Bondei G24 35, 112, 163, 247 Botatwe Bantu M60 45, 342, 646, 654 Budu D332 32, 131, 370

Bukusu JE31c 40, 130, 137, 144, 158, 160, 164,

280, 294

Burunge (Cushitic) 373, 533 Bushong C83 30, 139

Central Bantu 345 Central Kenya Bantu 340-341 Central Sudanic 4, 5, 355, 362 Central-Western Bantu 346 Chaga E60 33, 90, 142, 151, 208, 214, 272, 340 Changana S53 50, 94, 223 Chewa N31b 45, 53, 115, 129, 131, 135, 136, 137, 141, 142, 145, 161, 179, 180, 181, 183, 191, 271, 272, 278, 280, 286, 287, 288, 292, 294, 296, 312, 372 Chimpoto N14 1, 45, 340, 692-732 Chinese 367 Chopi S61 50, 98-99 Cisundi H10 316 Comorian G44 36, 218, 356, 363, 591 Congo Basin Bantu 325 Cushitic 4, 52, 90, 94, 218, 274, 355, 359, 367, 372-373, 533 Cuwabo P34 47, 180, 186, 290, 733-775

Datooga (Nilotic) 364, 503, 533 Digo E73 34, 52, 114, 155, 259, 261, 291 Doko C301 29, 140, 255 Duala A24 7, 20, 50, 142, 309, 310, 313, 314, 327

East Bantu 325, 345
Eastern Savanna Bantu 342
Ejagham (Ekoid) 344–345
Ekoid 336
Embu E52 32, 312
English 6, 83, 91, 210, 213–214, 219, 244, 252, 318, 320, 326, 356, 359–360, 362–363, 365–367, 370–372, 387, 480, 563, 749, 756, 772
Eton A71 21, 50, 115, 130, 222, 241, 242, 248, 258, 259, 262, 264, 292
Ewondo A72 21, 227, 358, 383

Fanagalo S40A 359–360
Fang A75 22, 83, 84–85, 88, 91, 114, 130, 248, 252
Fe'Fe' (Bantoid) 261
Forest Bantu 343
French 130, 183, 214, 252, 265, 310, 356, 362, 363, 366, 368, 370–371, 383, 440, 449, 472, 591, 592, 601, 603, 612
Fuliiru JD63 38, 152–153, 160–161, 163–164, 223, 227
Fwe K402 42, 81, 97–101, 107–111, 645–646, 657, 684–685, 688

Galwa B11c 23, 160 Ganda JE15 39, 90, 107-107, 112, 115, 129, 134-139, 141-143, 150, 158-159, 161, 175-176, 178, 181, 192, 196, 217, 228-229, 249-251, 263, 275, 287, 292-293, 295, 312-313, 366, 599 Gbaya (Ubangi) 383 German 183, 356, 365, 369 Gikuyu E51 32, 137, 144, 163, 207, 245, 260, 366 Giryama E72a 34, 96-97, 595 Gisu JE31 40, 254 Gogo G11 35, 192 Gorowa (Cushitic) 533 Grassfields Bantu 87, 89-90, 114, 131, 145, 153, 218, 275, 336, 346 Great Lakes Bantu 136, 225, 324 Gunu A622 21, 81 Gusii JE42 40, 133, 159, 166, 209, 250, 501, 522 Gyele A801 22, 87, 98

Hadza (isolate) 4, 81, 533
Ha JD66 38, 142, 222, 257–258, 260, 262, 272
Hawaiian 81
Haya JE22 39, 136, 139–140, 143, 152, 157, 207–208, 276, 280, 283–284, 295–296
Hehe G62 36, 137, 161, 205, 615, 635
Hendo C82 30, 89
Herero R31 6, 48, 98, 133, 160–161, 179, 257, 278, 282, 289–290, 294–295, 309–310, 313–314, 326–327
Hindi 367, 369
Holoholo D28 31, 116, 155, 161, 312
Holu L12b 42, 312
Hunde JD51 38, 158, 248
Hungan H42 327

Idakho JE411 40, 154, 161, 501 Ikizu JE402 40, 501-532 Ikoma JE45 41, 160, 162, 364, 501-532 Ikuhane K401 42, 98 Ila M63 45, 176, 310, 646, 683 Ilwana E701 33, 90, 94, 366, 372 Ilwana F22G 34, 218 Iraqw (Cushitic) 364, 533 Isenye JE45 41, 501–532 Isukha JE412 40, 501

Jarawan Bantu 3, 87, 336, 346 Jita JE25 39, 115, 153, 256, 503, 529 Ju (Khoisan) 97, 357

Kabwa JE405 40, 501-532 Kagulu G12 35, 176, 227-228, 245, 286, 589 Kako A93 23, 160, 213, 243-244, 383 Kalanga S16 48, 80-81, 85, 90, 92-94, 98, 112, 114, 136, 140, 142–143, 155–156, 293 Kamba E55 32-33, 113, 129, 151, 152, 156-157, 161, 163, 166, 312, 337 Kami G36 35, 341, 563-590 Kanincin (Ruwund) L53 43, 94 Kanyok L32 43, 229, 255 Kaonde L42 43, 225, 227 Kaskazi Bantu 342 Keerak (Atlantic) 255 Kele C55 29, 220 Kerewe JE24 39, 153, 157, 159, 163, 289 Kete L21 42, 142, 161, 273 Kgalagari S311 49, 90, 94, 99, 111, 150, 160, 163 Khoe (Khoisan) 87, 97, 101, 533 Khoisan 4, 6, 101, 356-357 Kiga JE14 39, 141, 144, 261, 294, 361 Kikongo Language Cluster 344, 228 Kimbu F24 34, 205, 340, 533 Kinga G65 36, 150, 255, 340, 363, 615-616, 621 Kingwa G65 36, 137 Kisi G67 36, 224, 615 Kol A832 22, 264 Kom (Grassfields Bantu) 89 Komo D23 31, 355 Konde S54 50, 98 Kongo H10 6, 134-135, 137-140, 142, 144, 164, 182, 228, 308-310, 313-314, 316-317, 326, 344, 416, 419, 445 Kongo ya Leta H10A 36, 228-229, 363 Konzo JD41 38, 134 Koonzime A842 22, 207 Kordofanian 4

Korekore S11 48, 90

519-520, 522, 525

Koyo C24 27, 129

Koti P311 47, 192, 196, 738-739, 762, 773

Kuria JE43 40, 144, 150-151, 153-154, 159,

161-162, 164, 166, 227, 501, 504, 508, 513,

Kusi Bantu 342 Kutu G37 35, 563 Kwakum A91 23, 383–413 Kwangali K33 41, 90, 98, 107, 133 Kwanyama R21 47, 99, 144, 150, 176, 179, 195, 312 Kwasio A81 22, 87–88 Kwaya 39, 503 Kwere G32 35, 563 Kwezo L13 42, 142 Kx'a (Khoisan) 87, 97, 101

Lamba M54 44, 184, 191, 312, 344, 683-684 Lamogi JE16 39, 160 Latin 6, 175, 178, 185, 356, 366 Lega D25 31, 143, 161, 221, 221-222, 272, 312, 342 Leke (Bomitaba) C14 27, 213, 312 Lengola D12 30, 134, 141 Lenje M61 45, 312 Liko D201 31, 83, 362, 370 Lingala C36d 9, 134, 176, 177, 182, 207, 225, 226, 243, 244, 358, 359, 369, 449, 461 Logooli JE41 40, 157, 166, 217, 501 Lomwe P32 47, 733 Londo A11 19, 91 Lozi K21 41, 98-99, 361, 645, 650, 652, 662 Luban L30 342 Luba L31a 42, 142, 161, 184, 187, 190, 244, 288, 315, 317, 325, 363, 370-371 Luba L33 43, 215 Lucazi K13 41, 365 Luguru G35 35, 271, 284, 287, 563, 567, 569, 579, 589 Lulua L31b 42, 155 Lundu A11 19, 312 Lungu M14 43, 150, 156, 163 Luo (Nilotic) 503 Luyana K31 41, 342, 361 Luyia JE32 40, 150, 158-160, 162, 164, 166-167 Lwena K14 41, 142, 215, 342, 366

Ma'á/Mbugu G221 358-359, 370-372 Maande A46 20, 81, 217, 347 Maasai (Nilotic) 373, 533 Makaa A83 22, 260-261, 383 Makhuwa P31 46, 140, 155-156, 159, 161, 162, 164, 196, 249, 277, 290, 342, 733, 737-739, 741, 760, 763-764, 773 Makonde P23 46, 53, 152, 154, 158, 161, 264, 326, 340, 360-361, 738 Makwe G402 36, 226, 240, 245, 258, 264 Malagasy (Austronesian) 356, 367

Manda N11 45, 99, 615, 693 Mangbetu (Central Sudanic) 362, 370 Manyanga (C-Kongo) H16b 37, 309, 313, 326 Manyika S13 48, 90, 280 Manyo K332 41, 90, 98, 106, 142, 282, 357 Maore G44D 36, 134, 371, 591 Marachi JE342 40, 161 Mara JE40 501-532 Mashariki Bantu 342 Matengo N13 45, 180, 692 Matumbi P13 46, 53, 89, 140, 152, 154, 157, 159, 161-163, 364, 738 Mbala H41 38, 216 Mbalangwe K401 42, 98 Mbalanhu R214 47, 98 Mbam(-Bubi) 3, 81, 325, 341, 345, 347 Mbandja (Ubangi) 449 Mbochi/Mbosi C25 27, 115, 312 Mbugwe F34 35, 261, 340, 373, 522, 525, 533-562 Mbukushu K333 41, 98, 106 Mbundu H21 37, 53, 187, 248, 308, 342 Mbunga P15 46, 312 Mbuun B87 26, 51, 130, 186, 275, 286, 288, 434, 442 Medumba (Grassfields Bantu) 90 Mijikenda E70 52, 91, 114, 155 Minyanka (Gur) 87 Mituku D13 30, 134, 175, 341 Mmala A62B 21, 81 Mokpwe A22 20, 134, 152-153, 156, 158, Mongo C61 29, 116, 133, 142, 145, 182-183, 185, 223, 227, 241, 258-259, 315 Mpiemo A86c 22, 95, 151 Mpiin B863 26, 51, 425 Mufu (Bantoid) 87 Mundabli (Bantoid) 87 Mushunguli G311 25, 163, 355 Mvita G42b 36, 90 Mwali G44C 36, 591 Mwanga M22 44, 153, 161 Mwani G403 36, 338, 360 Mwera P22 46, 183, 208, 217 Mwiini G412 36, 113, 115, 135, 151, 218, 295-296, 362 Myene B11 23, 186 Nande JD42 38, 85-87, 129-131, 134, 136, 137-138, 153, 155, 161, 238, 250-252,

256-257, 261

323-325, 336, 339, 355

Narrow Bantu 3, 145, 151, 238, 255, 315, 318,

Nata JE45 41, 501-532 Ndali M301 44, 371 Ndamba G52 36, 264, 271, 287-288, 291, 312 Ndau S15 48, 90, 98 Ndebele S44 49, 81, 97-99, 139, 197 Ndebele S407 99, 361, 364 Ndebele S408 99 Ndendeule N101 45, 109-, 211-212, 224-225 Ndengeleko P11 46, 226, 246, 348 Ndonga R22 47, 99, 179 Ndzuani G44b 36, 591 Nen A44 20, 81, 176, 263, 273, 274, 276, 289, 345 Ngazidja G44a 1, 36, 90, 115, 252, 258, 264, 591-614 Ngbandi (Ubangi) 369, 449, 462 Ngindo P14 46, 205 Ngom B22b 23, 140-141, 264 Ngombe C41 28, 182, 362, 369, 449, 456 Ngoni N12 45, 99, 223-224, 286, 358, 361, 693 Ngoreme JE401 40, 501-532 Ngumba A81 22, 186 Ngungwel B72a 25, 88 Nguni S40 49, 97, 99, 114, 139, 144, 155, 157, 159-160, 356, 361-362, 364 Ngwato S31c 49, 94, 112 Niger-Congo 3-4, 6-8, 83, 87, 173, 195, 210-211, 238, 255, 277, 308-309, 311, 315, 324, 335, 664 Nilamba F31 157, 163, 312, 340, 373, 533 Nilo-Saharan 4 Nilotic 4, 355, 363, 503, 530, 533 Nivem A84 22, 264 Nkore JE13 39, 141, 144, 156-157, 162, 166, 255, 261, 294, 361 Nkoya L62 43, 226 Nkuna S53D 50, 98, 106 Noni (Bantoid) 260 North-Binja D24 31, 220, 472 Northeastern Savanna Bantu 343 Northern Sotho S32 49, 98, 114, 184, 227, 274, 276, 309-310, 313-314, 364, 369 North-Western Bantu 5, 7, 79, 115, 130, 133, 134, 172, 187, 191, 206, 208, 227, 237, 249, 254, 257, 259, 264, 317, 324-325, 336, 337, 341, 344-346, 386, 763 Nsenga N41 46, 283-284 Nsong B85d 26, 51, 145, 237, 414-448 Ntandu H16g 37, 179 Ntumu A75A 151, 153, 252 Nyakyusa M31 44, 113, 145, 213, 255, 345, 358, 366, 616

Nyala East JE32F 40, 160, 162 Nyala West JE18 39, 161-163 Nyambo JE21 39, 109, 136-137, 141, 297 Nyamwezi F22 34, 81-82, 112-113, 133, 137, 142, 144-145, 155, 157, 163, 188-191, 195, 197, 256, 264, 545 Nyanga D43 32, 116 Nyanja N31a 45, 53, 90, 341 Nyaturu F32 35, 157, 160, 373. 533, 539 Nyika E72 34, 312 Nyokon A45 20, 90 Nyoro JE11 39, 361 Nzadi B865 26, 130, 145, 237, 239 Oku (Grassfields Bantu) 89, 114 Omotic 4 Oromo (Cushitic) 372 Orungu B11b 23, 160, 162, 220, 245, 257, 261-262 Pagibete C401 1, 28, 449-471 Pangwa G64 36, 137, 615, 693

Pare G22 35, 64, 115, 150, 156, 160, 163 359, 372 Pende L11 42, 141-142, 342, 429 Persian 367-368 Phuthi S404 49, 97, 362, 369 Pogoro G51 36, 213, 312 Pokomo E71 34, 112, 137, 312 Pol(ri) A92a 23, 238-239, 383 Portuguese 94, 356, 365, 367, 369, 371, 772 Proto-Bantu 5, 7, 89, 111, 128, 145, 158, 161, 172, 174, 205, 214, 221, 224, 237-240, 247, 254-256, 258, 270, 288, 308-334, 339, 341, 346, 362-363, 370, 398, 401, 420, 422, 427-428, 431-434, 447, 456, 507-508, 513, 579, 650-652, 735, 737, 741, 743, 751-752, 773 Punu B43 24, 132, 134, 139, 174, 213, 238, 365, 368

Rangi F33 35, 213, 274, 340, 373, 522, 525, 533, 552, 561
Rimi F32 35, 340
Ring 87, 89, 275
Romance 365, 368–369
Ronga S54 50, 98
Rundi JD62 38, 141, 142, 144, 155, 223, 224, 228–229, 245–246, 248, 250, 277–278, 325, 337, 370
RunyaKitara JE10A 361
Ruri JE253 39, 225, 503

Ruwund L53 43, 130, 132, 135, 142, 151 Rwanda JD61 38, 52, 89, 91–92, 101, 112–113, 114, 136–137, 142, 144, 155, 176, 187, 217, 258, 262–263, 278, 283

Saamia JE34 40, 229, 295 Sabaki Bantu 324, 348, 363, 372 Sabi Bantu M40-50 342 Safwa M25 44, 135, 150, 228, 255, 363, 616 Saghala E74b 34, 52, 115 Sambyu K331 41, 98 Sandawe (isolate) 4, 533 Sangha-Kwa Bantu 342 Sangu G61 36, 615 Savanna Bantu 342 Sawabantu (A10-30) 91 Semi-Bantu 7-8, 335 Sena N44 46, 733, 738, 770 Seuta 363 Shambaa G23 35, 153, 156, 160, 209, 221, 280, 283-284, 312, 365, 370, 372, 585 Shangaji P312 47, 181, 221, 223, 224, 229 Shi JD51 38, 161, 175 Shira B41 24, 150 Shona S10 48, 81, 90, 91, 93-94, 98, 114, 136-143, 150, 155, 156, 159–160, 162–163, 176, 181, 214, 216, 248, 290, 293, 363, 369, 371-372 Sikongo H16a 6, 37, 164, 317 Simbiti JE431 40, 501-532 Soga JE16 39, 81, 91 Songo H24 37, 414 Songye L23 42, 183-184, 260, 278 Sonjo E46 32, 340 South-East Bantu 98, 101 Southern Sotho S33 49, 81, 97-99, 106, 116, 139, 273, 281, 283, 344, 364 South-West Bantu 101, 314, 325, 342, 345-346 Spanish 6, 81, 219, 356, 368-369 Suba JE403 40, 501 Sub-Bantu 8, 9 Subiya K42 42, 98, 222, 312, 645-646, 688 Suguti Bantu 503 Suku H32 37, 144 Sukuma F21 34, 107-108, 112-113, 150, 155-156, 161, 205, 225, 289, 364, 503 Swahili G42 36, 81, 90, 94, 113, 129-131, 136-137, 139, 142, 151, 177-178, 180, 185, 187, 189, 193, 196-197, 206, 208, 210, 216-217, 219-221, 223-227, 238, 243, 245-246, 261, 272, 278-280, 282-287, 289, 291, 294, 308-310, 313-314, 316, 342, 360-373, 472, 503, 508, 533, 547, 563, 565, 567-568, 570-573, 587, 589, 615, 692, 741

Swati S43 49, 96-100, 248, 281, 369

Tabasaran (Dagestan) 93 Tachoni JE31E 40, 166 Taita E74 34, 156, 159 Teke B70 25-26, 51, 88 Tembo JD531 38, 153 Temne (Atlantic) 335 Tiene B81 26, 134, 136, 142, 145 Tikar (Bantoid) 323-324 Tiriki JE413 40, 153, 160-161, 164-165, 167, 501 Tiv (Tivoid) 339, 344-345 Tivoid 336, 346 Tonga M64 45, 110, 129, 150, 155, 161, 176, 248, 254, 646, 650-651, 664. 668, 683, 687-688 Tonga S62 50, 95, 157 Tooro JE12 39, 361, 363 Totela K41 42, 98, 155, 226, 645-691 Tsogo B31 24, 186 Tsonga S53 50, 90, 93, 98, 155, 157, 164-165, 297, 312 tsotsitaal 360 Tswa S51 50, 98-99 Tswana S31 49, 90, 94, 99, 111, 115, 129, 131, 139-140, 142-144, 155, 259, 264-265, 273, 277, 282, 294, 342, 344, 362 Tuki A64 21, 136, 138 Tumbuka N21 45, 98, 115, 180, 288, 361 Tura JE30 154, 160-161 Tuu (Khoisan) 87, 101

Umbundu R11 47, 53, 88, 98, 172, 184, 192, 195–196, 233, 312, 342 Unguja G42d 36, 337 Ur-Bantu 7, 308, 326 Urdu 367

Venda S21 49, 98, 138, 141, 155, 158, 206, 228, 357 Vili H12 37, 89 Viya B301 24, 264 Vove B305 24, 81–82, 85, 415 Vunjo E622C 33, 208, 272, 285 Vwanji G66 36, 137, 615–644

Wanga JE32a 40, 164, 166 West-Central Bantu 343 West-Coastal/West-Western Bantu 325, 346 Wide Bantu 3, 8, 255, 260–261, 315, 325, 336

Xhosa S41 49, 80–81, 90, 94, 97–98, 101–102, 106, 114, 158, 241, 284, 356, 362, 369

Yaka H31 37, 51, 52, 130, 134–135, 138–139, 144
Yambasa A62 165
Yans B85 26, 414
Yao P21 46, 109, 135–142, 152, 158, 161–162, 345, 736, 738
Yeyi R41 48, 98, 101, 214, 218, 227, 289
Yombe H16c 37, 264
Yombi H16c 255

Zamba C322 28, 116, 252, 255, 263, 265, 293 Zanaki JE44 40, 501-532 Zaramo G33 35, 563
Zezuru S12 48, 81, 90, 92, 143
Zigula G31 25, 155, 163, 183, 355, 365, 367
Zimba/South-Binja D26 31, 472–500
Zinza JE23 39, 159, 164–165, 337
Zombo H16h 37, 180
Zulu S42 49, 90, 94–95, 97–99, 101, 103–106, 114, 116, 159, 175–176, 183, 194–195, 217, 220, 223, 227, 249–251, 276–280, 282, 286, 289–291, 294, 326, 359–361, 364, 371

#### **SUBJECT INDEX**

accent 114, 115, 152, 206, 296, 363, 594,

acoustic(s) 80-81, 83, 85, 94, 99-101, 103, 112

adjective 141, 164, 189-190, 192-194, 196, 250,

255, 258-263, 289-290, 427, 456, 460-462.

additive noun prefix 242, 391, 423-424, 426

accessibility to relativisation 404, 411

697-698, 700, 718

additive pronoun 529, 627

469, 477, 479, 482-483, 487, 516, 537, 542, 544-545, 559, 561, 570-573, 589, 594, 597, 600-602, 625-626, 629, 632, 662, 664, 666, 687, 707, 710, 742, 744-749, 761, 763 adjunct 275, 444, 686, 728 Advanced Tongue Root (ATR) 81, 83-86, 89, 128-129, 134, 315, 417-418, 500, 503, 504, 506 adverb 225, 250, 440, 464, 522 adverbial 194, 244, 250, 436, 444-445, 453, 467, 580, 588, 657-658, 683, 706, 727, 770 affricates 89-90, 94, 101, 103-105, 128, 138-139, 142, 174, 316, 385, 387, 416, 567, 593, 649, 650, 695, 733 agent(ive) (semantic role) 175, 179-180, 183, 256, 281-283, 287-288, 403, 405-406, 429, 432, 577, 629, 712-713, 752 agent(ive) noun 188-190, 194, 196, 242, 419, 426, 482, 503, 597-598, 625, 700, 742 agglutinative 8, 130, 160, 316, 323-325, 362 agreeing inversion 282, 585, 767 agreement hierarchy 243, 261 alienability 397, 489 allomorphy 173, 186, 248, 288, 366, 408, 429, 441, 442, 479-480, 542, 575, 599, 604, 712, allophony 90, 173, 311, 327, 415-416, 465, 503, 542, 567, 589, 592 ambipositions 403 anaphoric 254, 278, 280, 398, 429, 442, 546-547, 661-662 anchoring modifiers 252, 261, 263 Angola 4, 18, 98, 183, 414 animacy 243, 272-273, 283, 423, 469, 642, 722 animate agreement 243, 245-246, 261, 571

animate reference 243, 246, 261, 280, 284, 368-369, 430, 458-459, 462, 465, 469, 492 514, 549, 559, 571, 584-585, 642 anterior (articulation) 99, 101-102, 107-110 anterior (aspect) 164, 211, 226, 322-324, 342, 419-420, 434-437, 519-522, 527, 552-553, 580-581, 634-639, 643, 671 anticausative 180, 186, 712, 752 antipassive 183-184 apocope 419, 735-736 applicative 129, 131-133, 141, 144-145, 161, 173, 175-179, 183, 186, 189, 205, 271-273, 285-288, 317, 370, 406, 418, 420, 431, 465, 470, 490, 504-505, 507, 519, 534, 537, 550, 574-576, 604, 620, 634, 642, 668, 683, 685, 693, 712, 714, 750-753, 759, 768-769 apposition 262, 264, 396, 611 archaeology 4, 335, 344 aspiration 90, 94, 106-107, 113, 137, 139-140, 316, 384, 567, 617-618, 622-623, 695 assibilation 315 assimilation 132, 134, 139, 144, 248, 316-317, 342, 362, 371, 385, 417-418, 427, 434, 473, 508, 569, 653, 693-694, 696, 736 associative 159, 173, 182-183, 256, 292, 465, 604, 712; see also connective associative plural 241 augment 89, 130, 136, 151, 158-159, 164, 195, 237, 241, 247-255, 262-265, 282, 290, 485, 489, 513-514, 516-517, 519, 542, 569, 598-602, 617, 619, 626, 629, 631, 646, 653, 656, 658-659, 665, 676, 688, 699, 737, 739, 761, 772 augmentative (noun) 191, 192, 242, 246, 425, 480-481, 571, 656, 701, 741 augmentative (verb) 185 auxiliary 205-206, 208-209, 213, 217, 219, 223, 228-229, 274, 292, 323-324, 409, 435, 522, 527, 550, 552, 583, 609, 638-651, 669, 677, 679-680, 720, 722

back height vowel harmony 133

343-345, 355

Bantoid 3-4, 8-9, 87, 89, 255, 323, 325, 336,

Bantu Expansion 4, 5, 335, 344-346, 357 Bantu homeland/nucleus 4, 5, 339, 345 Bantu Lexical Reconstructions (BLR) 172, 193, 311, 317-318, 320 basic vocabulary 3, 318, 320, 325, 338-339. 346, 421 Bayesian method 343-345 beneficiary/maleficiary 176-177, 271-273, 285, 406, 431, 550, 575, 585, 712-713, 751, 768 Biafra 7 bilingualism 357, 371 Bioko 4 Bleek, Wilhelm Heinrich 6, 7, 8, 308 borrowing 99, 130, 240-241, 250, 339, 342, 344, 356-357, 363-365, 369-372, 385, 387, 547, 649-650 Botswana 4, 48, 92, 98 breathy voice 97, 101, 106, 113 Brusciotto, Giacinto 6 Burundi 4, 38 Bushman 6, 7 Cameroon 3, 4, 7, 8, 21, 335, 339, 345, 355, 358, 383 Cape Agulhas 3 cardinal number 253, 257-258, 262, 400, 427-428, 547, 625, 709 Cardoso, Mattheus 6 cataphoric 429 causative 131, 141, 144-145, 161-162, 173-176, 178, 180, 184-186, 188, 205, 271, 272, 285, 287-288, 360, 370, 404-406, 418, 420, 432, 465, 490, 503, 506, 519-520, 550, 574-576, 604, 620, 625, 634, 668-669, 682-683, 685, 693, 712, 713, 750-753, 768-769 Central African Republic 4 clefts 274, 281, 443, 528-529, 552, 641, 687, 762, 765 click 90, 94, 97-107, 116, 356-357 closed syllable 130, 132, 135, 145, 386, 420-421 cognate/cognacy 8, 52, 87, 166, 173, 229, 238, 251, 292, 308-310, 313, 315, 317, 320, 322-323, 338-339, 345, 370-372, 392, 409, 650, 668 collective 183, 368, 405 comitative 183, 248, 288-289, 403, 489, 627, 630, 642, 653, 662, 676, 760-761 Comoros 4, 591 Comparative Method 308-310, 325-326, 336, 338-339, 345, 348 compensatory lengthening 108, 110, 134-136, 370, 534, 617, 735 demonstrative 164, 196, 244, 251-252, 254-256, complementiser 293-295, 390, 406, 412, 611, 770

completive (aspect) 161, 288, 437, 440, 668, 671-673, 675, 679, 681-683 compound(ing) 173, 183, 194-196, 205, 208, 210, 250, 313, 387, 427, 462, 507, 522, 597, 609, 648, 700, 714-742, 746 concessive 227, 771 conditional 162-164, 206, 219, 224-225. 227-229, 410, 446, 521, 523-524, 534, 536, 539-540, 549, 553, 557, 579, 581, 606. 607-609, 639-640, 677, 729-730, 756, 770-771 Congo Basin 7, 94, 142, 325, 339 Congo-Brazzaville 4 Congo-Kinshasa (DRC) 4, 36, 39, 51, 325, 355, 414, 449, 472-473 Congo River 28 conjoint/disjoint (disjunctive) 277-278, 298, 322, 373, 671-672, 675, 679, 681, 683-686, 739, 756-757, 765, 767, 773 connective 195-196, 248, 256-259, 261, 263-264, 292, 389-390, 392, 395-397 399, 401, 403, 412, 425, 427-428, 453, 456, 458-459, 463, 467, 479, 482, 485, 487, 489, 509, 516-518, 526, 542, 544-545, 547, 572, 574, 601, 611, 621, 625-626, 630-632, 655, 658, 665, 667, 687-688, 704, 707-708, 723. 742, 744-748, 762 consecutive 165, 219, 407-410, 536, 549, 553-556, 635, 643, 676 construct form (nouns) 251, 264 continuous (aspect) 212, 214, 467, 477, 491, 493-495, 498 convergence 326, 339, 358, 360-361 coordination 584, 630, 643;724, 769-770 copula(r) 159, 227, 288-290, 406, 409, 412, 464, 469-471, 512, 522, 527, 529, 549, 561, 584, 586, 630, 643, 658, 663, 687-688, 710-711, co-referential 276, 278-279, 444, 723, 726 counterexpectational 756, 772 counterfactual 225, 227, 558, 640, 679, 755, 771 crastinal 217, 522 creoles 358, 363 cyclical change/rules 145, 174, 184, 254-255, 264, 323-324, 373, 522 Dahl's Law 144, 342, 507-508 dative see applicative default agreement inversion 282 definiteness 252

258, 260-261, 264, 292, 340, 392, 396, 398,

426, 429-430, 444, 460, 463, 484-485, 513,

516, 526-529, 546-547, 560, 573, 586, 599, 601-603, 628-629, 661-664, 666, 686, 702, 705-707, 742-744, 748, 749, 762, 772 denasalisation 139 depalatalisation 144 depressor consonants 95-97, 106, 114, 155, 157 desyntactisation 227, 323-324 deverbative derivation 172, 189, 226, 426, 482 devoicing 112, 115, 139, 143, 387, 592, 646, 695 Differential Object Marking (DOM) 280 diminutive 92, 191-192, 194-195, 242, 246, 425, 473, 477, 480-481, 506, 513, 542-543, 571-572, 624, 656, 700-701, 741-742 diphthong(isation) 87, 137, 415, 420 directive see applicative dissimilation 150-152, 157, 163, 264, 316, 506-507 distal (demonstrative) 256, 429, 516, 528-529, 573, 628-629, 663, 705-706, 743 distal (TA) 658, 676, 756 distributional constraints 131-132 downdrift 115, 537, 539, 651 downstep 115, 151, 153, 387, 389, 412, 509, 652-654, 666, 678, 688 drummed language 19 dual number 394-395, 397

ejectives 90, 94–95, 101, 139
electropalatography (EPG) 90, 94, 103–105
endophoric 429
enumerative 256, 461, 516, 570, 742
epenthesis 362, 385, 425, 465
Equatorial Guinea 4
existential 586, 711
exophoric 256, 429
Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption
Scale (EGIDS) 645
expletive 181, 275
extensive (suffix) 173–174, 183–184, 634, 668
extraposition 264, 399

durative 174, 524, 530, 718, 758

Fernando Po 7
Final (morpheme) 205–206, 213, 218, 248, 420, 431, 550, 632–634, 640, 665, 759
final vowel loss 420, 426, 434
final vowel shortening 134–135
focus, focalisation 114–115, 164–165, 206, 251, 263, 273–278, 281–282, 284, 286, 322–323, 394, 407, 411, 443, 458, 463, 519, 522, 527–529, 561, 603, 610, 641–642, 680, 684–685, 687, 726–727, 757–758, 765, 773

fortition/strengthening 92, 112, 138, 316, 342, 419, 596–597 fricated vowels *see* super-close vowels frication 94, 140–142, 144–145 front height vowel harmony 133

Gabon 4, 23, 25 Ganda law see Meinhof's Rule/Law geminates/gemination 90, 135, 138, 143, 313, 316, 535, 623 genealogy 3, 7, 17, 18, 51, 255, 308, 309-310, 324, 337, 340, 533 generic meaning 569 generic present 435, 438 (evolutionary) genetics 4, 343, 345 genitive see connective glide formation/gliding 134-135, 145, 157, 417, 478, 566, 592, 617, 621, 649, 653, 694, 735 glottochronology 338 goal 176, 285, 411, 641, 713, 717 grammaticalisation 182, 204-206, 208-209, 214, 217-218, 227, 242, 254-255, 298, 322-324, 373, 396, 410, 549, 611, 638, 770 Guthrie, Malcolm 2, 8 Guthrie code 2-3, 17-19, 204

habitual 151, 164, 174, 211, 213, 215, 262, 288, 435, 437-439, 467, 482, 490-492, 523-524, 549-551, 553-554, 577, 581, 606, 608, 621, 633, 635-638, 643, 668-670, 672-674, 678, 684, 758 Hale, H.E. 6, 9 hesternal 217, 520, 522, 549-550, 552-554 high tone anticipation (HTA) 167, 646-647, 651-654, 657, 658, 682 hodiernal 164, 167, 217, 408, 522, 539-541, 550, 552-553, 634-636, 638-639, 671-672, 674, 678-679, 681, 684 homorganic nasal (assimilation) 136, 137, 139, 313, 416, 419-420, 423, 696, 699, 736 hortative 221-222, 410, 436, 578, 606, 608, 677-678, 682 Hottentot 6, 7 hypothetical (TAM) 521, 525, 558, 640, 755-756,

hypothetical (TAM) 521, 525, 558, 640, 755–756, 759, 771

ideophone 187, 194, 196, 362, 372, 592, 598, 667 imbrication (infixation) 135, 145, 420, 431, 446, 623, 697, 760

Immediate After the Verb focus position (IAV) 272–273, 275–277, 757, 773

Immediate Before the Verb focus position (IBV) 275–276, 443

imperative 136, 205, 219-222, 229, 371, 409, 419, 436-437, 442, 453, 464, 466-467, 492, 494-495, 539-542, 550, 553, 556-557, 578, 587, 606, 608, 639-640, 678, 682-683, 688, 717, 719-720, 755-756, 758-760 imperfective 174, 211, 212, 213-214, 220-221, 227, 322, 342, 407-409, 434-435, 437-438, 468, 492, 493, 523-524, 536, 549-554, 556, 576, 580, 606-609, 634-640, 669, 672, 674, 679, 681, 682, 698, 718-719, 756, 758, 771 impersonal 181, 288, 434, 584-585 implosive 89-90, 94-95, 114, 449, 452, 567, 592-593, 695 impositive 173, 178-179, 182, 185, 317, 431, 434, 574-576, 620, 750 inanimate reference 243, 272-273, 368-369. 458-459, 465, 492, 514, 642 inceptive 324, 523-524 infinitive 153, 156, 158, 162, 167, 188, 189, 197, 205, 208, 219, 222, 240, 252, 258, 294, 371, 408, 421, 443, 464-465, 468, 475, 477, 479, 489, 505, 508, 511, 512-513, 537, 539, 544, 550, 567, 577-578, 583, 587, 598, 603, 606, 608, 621, 625-626, 651, 653, 654, 666-668, 676, 678-680, 683, 684-685, 704, 709, 720, 724-725, 739, 755, 771 information structure 270-307, 503, 519, 526, 528, 552, 561, 589, 641, 654, 726 instrument inversion 281-283 instrumental 175-176, 183, 248, 272, 403, 489, 625, 669, 712-713, 760-761 insubordination 224 intensive (meaning) 161, 176, 183, 185, 221, 405. 604, 668, 749, 760 interjections 98, 592 International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) 80. 106-107, 116, 326, 476, 647 intonation 114-115, 219, 289, 529-530, 587 Intonation Phrase 595, 599 intransitivity 175, 181-182, 184-185, 287, 434, 469, 471, 491, 550, 620, 693, 707, 712-713, 735, 751-752, 773 inversion construction 281-283, 585, 643, 766-767, 773; of the auxiliary 522, 523, 524; of subject in relative clauses 293 inversive (meaning) 185, 519 irrealis 226-228, 323, 492, 536, 539-540, 547, 549, 553, 558 ISO 631-3 17-19 iterative (meaning) 183, 185, 211, 215, 438, 657, 668, 758 itive 324, 639-640, 717, 756

SUBJECT INDEX 785 Kenya 4, 33, 340-341, 348, 360, 501 kin(ship) term 240-241, 245-246, 250, 257, 423, 459, 486, 489, 515, 570, 587, 530, 700 Kongo rule 419 Kwanyama law 593 labialisation 93-94, 503, 507, 516, 519, 616, 618-619, 633, 650, 735, 741 labial-velar stop 92, 94, 355, 362, 384-385, 387, 412, 452 Lake Malawi 53 lambdacism 310 language acquisition 166, 281, 343 language contact 1, 4, 5, 239, 270, 274, 298, 310, 326, 339, 342-343, 346, 355-380, 503, 530, 645, 741 Lesotho 4 lexicostatistics 18-9, 50-52, 325, 335-336, 338-340, 342, 344 loanword 97, 115, 189, 338, 362-364, 366-370. 416, 461, 479, 506, 568, 587, 592, 596, 598, 603, 615, 649 locative class 5, 188, 191, 238, 240, 242, 244, 247, 251, 426, 479, 500, 568, 572, 626, 629, 654, 666, 699, 741, 744 locative inversion 281-283, 585, 589, 643, 766-767, 773 macrostem 162, 322, 509, 511, 513, 526, 577, 739 Macro-Sudan Belt 5 Madagascar 3, 4, 36 Malawi 4, 45, 46, 47, 49, 99, 361, 692 maximality constraint 5, 324, 420, 431, 433 Mayotte 4, 591 Mbam-Bubi 3, 325, 341 medio-passive 180, 186 Meeussen's Rule 151, 157, 161, 477, 487, 494, 496-497, 509, 652 Meinhof, Carl 7, 308 Meinhof's Rule/Law 138, 139, 144, 312, 313. 316, 419, 342, 650, 735 melodic tone 153, 162, 165, 166, 422, 508, 513, 525, 648, 651, 657, 667, 670, 676, 678, 682, 689 metathesis 141

metatony 156, 278

migration 4, 339, 345, 361

minimality 136, 254, 657

middle voice/domain 180, 182-184, 186

mora 135, 151-161, 165-166, 197, 364, 387,

508, 513, 526, 535-537, 539-541, 545, 558,

mfecane 361

433, 752

resumptive pronoun 276, 294, 399, 404, 412, 444.

619, 630, 647, 653, 682, 698, 720, 735–739, 756, 772-773 morphophonology 311, 313, 315-316, 370, 385-386, 417-419, 422, 473, 476-478, 485, 499, 530, 617, 619, 772 motional 188, 324 Mozambique 4, 45, 98, 340, 360, 733, 762 multilingualism 3, 326, 358

Namibia 4, 42, 645-646 narrative (genre) 256, 383, 555, 615, 643, 646. 662, 686, 692, 769, 773 narrative (TA) 227, 453, 466-468, 513, 522, 525, 554-555, 635-636, 640, 643, 676, 686, 755, 769 nasal harmony (assimilation) 88, 173, 342, 419 nasalisation 88, 106-108, 110, 112-113, 131, 138-139, 423, 650 negation 163, 172, 205-206, 294, 410-411, 441-442, 493, 525, 549, 577, 581-582, 608, 634, 659, 671, 679-681, 719, 753 neuter 173, 179-181, 183, 185-186, 223, 238, 317, 365, 431, 434, 465, 574, 576-577, 604, 620, 634, 668, 750-751 Nigeria 3, 4, 7, 8, 335 non-homorganic nasal 92 non-syllabic nasal 313, 316, 419 Nosse-Be 4 noun-to-noun derivation 190-192, 424, 457, 741 noun-to-verb derivation 184, 193 Number 192-193, 243, 257, 283, 369, 392, 394, 398, 402, 423, 458, 626, 709 numeral 7, 398, 403, 412, 427, 456, 479, 483. 487, 516, 542, 544-545, 547-548, 559, 570.

object prefix/marker 271, 273, 276, 278-280, 292, 294, 313, 464, 469-470, 489, 515, 528, 605-606, 608, 610, 666, 682-683, 685, 696, 717-718, 722, 739, 747, 757-760 Obligatory Contour Principle (OCP) 156-158, 166, 594 Oblique 179, 183, 287-288, 431, 577, 722

numeral agreement 257, 484, 542, 570, 625, 667

572-573, 600, 632, 708, 742, 746

Old Calabar river 7 open syllable 8, 130, 371, 387, 420, 454, 478 optative 219, 221-222, 224 ordinal number 257, 396, 428, 547, 708-709 orthography 107, 533, 565, 647, 692 ostensive 712

palatalisation 141, 142, 144, 420, 503, 507, 516, 519, 616, 618-619, 633, 695, 736, 741

palatogram 91 passive 130, 144, 161, 162, 173, 177, 179-184. 186-188, 190, 205, 281, 283, 285, 287-288 360, 405-406, 431, 434, 490-491, 519-520, 550, 574, 576-577, 581, 598, 604, 625, 629, 634, 668-669, 682, 712, 714, 750-753, 759 patient inversion 282-283 penultimate (prominence) 115-116, 135, 154-155, 165, 207, 278, 363-364, 508, 511, 540, 568, 616, 617, 619, 647-648, 677, 682, 694, 697-698, 720 perfect 161, 211, 226, 322, 435, 527, 607-608. 671-672, 681, 768 perfective 134-135, 141, 145, 167, 181, 211-212. 226, 323-324, 407, 440-441, 468, 475, 491-498, 500, 507, 509, 523-524, 536, 539-541, 549-554, 556-557, 580, 606-609, 623, 634-636, 638, 640, 671, 673, 681-682, 697, 710-711, 718, 724, 746, 754-756, 759, 871 persistive 211, 215, 521-524, 549, 553-555, 581, 583, 635, 637-639, 675, 682, 712, 714 personal pronoun (substitutive) 176, 243, 393, 403, 424, 428, 442-443, 458, 516, 544, 661-662, 667, 701-702, 747-749, 761, 764 pharingealised vowels 87-88 phylogenetics 325, 335, 339-341, 343-347 pidgin 19, 358-360, 369 pitch 95-97, 114-115, 165, 530, 537, 539, 587, 619, 651, 662, 687, 773 pitch accent 114, 152, 206, 363, 594, 697 place of articulation 90-91, 94, 107, 385, 418, 569, 694, 733 plateauing (tone) 158, 509, 511, 651, 677, 682, 739 pluractional 221, 604, 657, 758 plural addressee 220, 494, 578, 760-761 polarity 161, 323, 371, 599 positional (contrasts) 153 positional (restrictions) 114, 115 positional (suffix) 132, 173, 179, 181, 182, 185, 431, 634, 668, 750 possessive 151, 164, 243, 245, 250, 257, 260-262, 264, 289, 390, 392, 395-398, 401, 403, 410, 427-429, 456, 458-459, 463, 479, 485-487, 513, 516, 518, 542, 544-546, 559, 570, 572, 574, 599, 601-603, 617, 625-626, 629-630, 632, 649, 655, 665-666, 687, 688, 703, 742, 745, 747-749, 764 postcrastinal 522

posthodiernal 649, 653, 671, 674, 678-681

225, 227, 228, 229, 288, 640, 712

potential (meaning) 161, 164, 181, 183, 219, 224,

prehesternal 520, 522 prehodiernal 152, 217, 669, 671-674, 676, 679. 681-682 prepositions 8, 174, 183, 191, 248, 287-289, 373 395, 403, 405-406, 462, 489, 630, 747, 752 priorative 439 progressive 208, 211, 213, 435, 467-468. 522-524, 527, 549, 553-555, 581, 635-637. 639, 651, 657, 672, 674–676, 680, 684–685 prohibitive 219, 221-222, 437, 547, 557. 606, 754 proper names 195, 240-242, 245-246, 250, 489, 655 prosody 79, 90, 107, 114-115, 131, 145, 237, 254, 264, 270, 278, 289, 295-298, 362-363, 387, 409, 479, 480, 591, 593-595, 602, 608, 611, 654, 659, 699 proto-form 317-318, 320, 735 proximal (demonstrative) 429, 444, 516, 527-528, 573, 628-629, 663, 705-706, 743, 761 qualifier 259-260, 401-403, 482 quantifier 260, 264, 398, 400-403, 462, 479, 482, 516, 519, 542, 544, 546, 572, 574, 602-603, 632, 664, 666, 708, 742, 746, 749 question word 219, 360, 529, 573, 587, 685, 687 recipient 176, 271, 272, 285, 431, 550, 642, 751, 767 - 768reciprocal 131, 161, 173-174, 182-184, 205, 285, 287-288, 404-405, 433, 476, 490-491, 519, 549-550, 577, 579, 604, 622, 634, 668, 711-712, 714, 750-751, 753, 759 reduplication 132, 173, 176, 187, 194, 196-197, 387, 393, 424-425, 452, 460-461, 544, 577, 582, 598, 604, 628-629, 667-668, 670, 684, 692, 698, 701, 708, 710, 712, 714, 742, 750 referential (demonstrative) 256, 484-485, 516, 528, 573, 628-629, 743, 772 reflexive 143, 165, 183, 186, 371, 405, 465, 475, 492-493, 519, 549-550, 577, 579, 621, 642, 668 relative clauses & verb forms 163, 205-206, 209, 258-259, 262, 265, 291-294, 396, 412, 426, 427, 444-445, 463, 486-487, 525, 527, 560, 588, 611, 627, 643, 653, 661, 686-687, 703-705, 723, 761, 763-765, 767 relative pronoun 243, 292, 463-464, 527, 625, 643, 703, 723 remoteness distinctions 216-219, 467, 520, 552 repetitive 173, 185, 187, 405, 465 resultative 323, 440, 674-675

601, 606, 683, 755 Retracted Tongue Root (RTR) 83, 85-87. 473-475, 483, 485, 500 retroflex 93, 106, 142, 592, 734-735 reversive (= separative) 132, 161-162, 173, 185-186, 285, 490-491, 519, 574, 576, 668, 694, 712, 714 rhotacism 310, 326 Rio del Rev 7 Roboredo, Manuel 6 Rwanda 4 semantic agreement 243-248, 399 semi-Bantu 8, 335 separative 133, 173, 179, 182, 185-186, 193. 205, 285, 317, 418, 434, 519, 620, 634, 694, 712-713, 735, 752 sequential 754-755, 759, 769 serial verbs 174, 206 shared innovation 3, 310, 325, 342 shared retention 310, 325 Sierra Leone 7-8, 335 situative 215, 549, 553, 555, 675-676, 679, 735, 754-756, 758, 760, 770 sociative 175, 183, 432 Somalia 3, 4, 35, 356 sonorant 476, 736 sound change/shift 79, 89, 116, 182, 192, 310-311, 313, 318, 322, 342, 356-357, 513, 542, 568 sound correspondence 7, 310, 317-318, 338, 651 sound symbolism 194, 310, 612 South Africa 3, 4, 6, 99, 357-358, 360 Southern Sudan 4 specificity 252-254, 626, 662, 718 spirantisation 140, 174, 188, 314-315, 419, 426, 507, 598, 651 spread zone/Sprachbund 4, 5, 533 stabiliser 599, 610 stative 161, 173, 182, 205, 214, 285, 288, 294, 465, 469, 482, 490-491, 519, 524, 580, 598, 638, 669, 671-672, 674-675, 686, 712, 718, 724, 746 strengthening see fortition/strengthening stress 114, 151, 172, 363-364, 368, 508, 511, 568, 619, 630, 638, 697, 720-721 subject inversion 293 subject-object reversal 282 subject prefix/marker 157, 221, 243, 259, 265, 275, 280-281, 284, 294, 323, 394, 464, 466, 469, 498, 525, 585, 595, 605-609, 647, 653, 657, 678-679, 686-687, 755

subjunctive 154, 157, 161-162, 206, 208, 217-222, 224-227, 229, 323, 409-410, 419, 434-437, 453, 466-468, 475-477, 491, 492-495, 504, 506, 536, 539-540, 547, 549-550, 553, 556-557, 578, 587, 556, 637, 639-640, 674, 677-680, 682, 688, 711, 717, 719-722, 753-755, 759 subordination 163, 224, 226, 294, 410, 412, 445, 552, 555, 643, 675, 684, 721, 723, 753 subsecutive 440, 676 substitutive noun prefix 242 substrate 357 super-close vowels 89 Swadesh 100/200-list 318, 320-321, 327, 338, 340-341, 345-346 Swaziland 4 syllabic nasal 129, 139-140, 315, 391-392, 420, 423, 425, 500, 595, 619, 622, 654, 735, 736 syllable coda 386, 413, 535 syllable nucleus 386, 420, 736 syllable onset 129, 136, 163, 362, 386-387, 421, 425, 454, 478, 534, 568, 736

Tanzania 4, 45, 208, 218, 340, 341, 348, 355, 361, 501, 533, 563, 587, 615, 692 tap 90, 507, 593 tense contrasts 216–219 tentive (contactive) 173, 184–185, 634, 668, 750 Theme 176, 270–271, 411, 641–642, 712 tone-bearing unit (TBU) 5, 139–140, 150–151, 153–155, 387–390, 397, 412, 508–509, 535, 736 tone doubling 156, 167, 738–739, 772 tone spreading 155–156, 158–167, 297, 364, 388–389, 434, 508–511, 513, 535–537, 539–540, 677, 739

tongue root position, [ATR] 83, 83–87, 89, 128–129, 134, 315, 417–418, 500, 503, 504, 506 topic, topicality 271–274, 276, 280–281, 283, 296, 399, 412, 443, 519, 527–529, 585, 610, 641–642, 683, 686, 726, 747 topicality hierarchy 272–273, 280 transitivity 175–177, 179, 183–185, 271, 287, 434, 469, 575, 620, 712–714, 717, 735, 764

Uganda 4, 341, 348, 361 umlaut 131, 415, 418, 420, 426, 435 univerbation 323 unpacking 419 upstep 537–539 valency decreasing derivation see antipassive; associative; extensive; neuter; passive; positional; reciprocal; stative valency increasing derivation see applicative; causative; impositive valency neutral derivation see repetitive; separative Van Gheel, Joris 6 velarisation 142, 419 ventive 549 verb-to-noun derivation 188, 426 verb-to-verb derivation 173, 404 vocative 249, 626, 628, 658-659, 688, 773 voice onset time (VOT) 94 vowel epenthesis 362, 385, 425, 465 vowel fronting 419 vowel harmony 83, 85, 133-134, 141, 173, 316, 317, 417-418, 422, 431, 442, 450, 465-466, 473-476, 483, 485, 492, 500, 503, 504-506, 513-514, 516, 519-520, 530, 534, 575-576, 592, 604, 608, 608-609, 619-620, 668, 735, 773

vowel hiatus (resolution) 417, 422, 565, 592 vowel length 81, 89, 111, 115, 135, 139, 157, 218, 315, 341, 384, 415, 450, 503, 534, 565, 617, 647–649, 661, 688 vowel lengthening 89, 113, 135, 648, 694, 728, 735 vowel lowering 136, 327, 504, 658 vowel raising 80, 131, 419, 450, 504–506, 519 vowel spacing 79–83

Western Cape 3
wh-clause/question/word 275, 552, 611, 684, 762, 765
whistling fricatives 93–94
word order in the clause 270–278, 284, 292–293, 360, 443, 559, 584–586, 610, 641–643, 683, 722, 767–768; in the noun phrase 252, 259–263, 360, 402–403, 427, 463, 487–488, 516, 559–560, 572, 602–603, 632, 666–667, 709

y-absorption 145, 174

Zambia 4, 45, 53, 645–646, 650 Zimbabwe 4, 45, 49, 53, 92